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off in a foramen palatinum, the game is won. This game is played by four persons (men only?), two on a side. First, each member of one party swings until he misses, when it passes to the opponents. Three hundred or more counters are made of soapweed leaves split into narrow pieces, 10 cm. long. Some wider pieces have a number of slits in one end, six, ten, or twenty, corresponding to so many units. The side getting all the counters wins. 526

Possibly there is no conception of luck or supernatural aid resulting in success; at least, I recorded no expression of it and was unable to isolate the idea. In a myth the hero, who has repeatedly made a perfect score, says, "I am all right; I have good luck (*dhdnig'iu*, I am good)." To win big stakes is *mdd^{a}vigd* (*mdd^{a}vig^{a}wigd*, to carry big winnings.) 777

Basket dice (*wiðdvigd*) is played in winter; four women to a side. The dice (probably *sa'd'k*) are split wildcat hind leg bones, with red bands painted across the concave face. Four are tossed in a tray basket, about 40 cm. in diameter, flat-bottomed, with sharply rising sides. All convex faces up or all concave up scores one. The player continues to toss until two of a kind appear, which is a miss. The counters are ten little sticks in a general pile from which each player draws his score. When this pile is exhausted, they draw upon the opposing party's counters, until one party has all ten. 524

Stick dice (*tóhovigd*, also playing cards) may be played at any season. Four men or women are on a side: each member of one party makes one throw, then the dice pass to the other side. They sit about an incomplete circle of small stones, 60 cm. in diameter, with a larger stone at its center. One such stone is a fragment of mano with a red cross on its face. The three dice are flat wooden billets, 3 cm. wide and 8 to 13 cm. long, with all angles rounded. These are marked with red paint on one face; usually a broad median line, sometimes a waved median line. Two sets have all three differently marked: one (50.2–1618) has a zigzag line on one, the other two are colored over the whole face and in addition one has a continuous band of diamonds incised; the second set (50.2-1619) has a median line, a cross, and three cross bands. These lines are commonly painted with the finger tip. The three dice are held between the two palms and cast on the center stone end on, but a little diagonally to cause them to bounce beyond it. The scores are: all blanks, ten; all reds, five; two reds, three; and one red, said to count one but the marker is moved over two stones. Each party has one of these markers, a little stick. These are started at the gap in the circle and advanced in opposite directions. If a throw brings the marker on the space occupied by

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524 that of the opponents, the latter is "killed" and must return to the starting place. The party first to complete the circuit wins.[1]

For the hidden-ball game (*nâhovîgâ*) two furrows are dug in line, but some distance apart. The loose sand is heaped in a ridge down the center of the furrow. The hiding ball, about 4 cm. diameter, is cut from a yucca root. The sixteen tally sticks (*sâhúnâ*), peeled twigs about 20 cm. long, are stuck upright in the ground midway between the two holes. The hider thrusts his hand containing the ball through one sand ridge, and as he draws it back, re-building the ridge over his forearm, leaves the ball in it. He then divides the ridge into four piles. Sometimes a blanket is held up to conceal his movements. To help conceal it, he sings:—

[539] wi ga imai nu'u maga djawîd'ma tama wi'i ya
you don't know
amdja tama wi'i ta Inîm ma yaga wi[2]
to go back and forth

The opposing party approaches to guess in which pile the ball is hidden. This is accompanied by much banter, exactly as Ewing describes for the Walapai.[3] If they guess correctly they hide the ball in turn in their own furrow. If wrong, the hiding party takes a counter. The guessers are often given a second chance, but for each wrong decision the hiders take a counter. When all the counters have been taken from the central pile, they begin to draw on their opponents'. The side cornering all sixteen wins. When the hider has lost nearly all his counters, he sings:—

[538] sâhunω'dj mavωgîgâna kavînyâyuyθ'^k yûtê^ny''ê
(I want my) counters (to) return (I am) expiring.

When having good luck he sings a meaningless refrain:—

pîkîtâgî'nâ do wo wo wa (repeat)
pîkîtâgî'nâ dô'haaaa

524 857 Children of four hide the ball with all the characteristic motions of their elders, although they do not play seriously until they are somewhat older.

Dolls (*gweda'''ê*, something to play with) are made of cedarbark for the use of little girls. String figures are made by children alone. Children put corn tassels in their hair, playing it is long.

Slings (*wîldvîâ*) are playthings used only by boys for hurling stones at birds. The sling is fashioned of a rectangular piece of skin, having

[1] Culin, (b), 300. I failed to note how the chance passes to another player.
[2] This was sung in unstressed syllable, so that it proved impossible to divide it into words.
[3] Culin, (b), 371.

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the corners cut off obliquely, and with a thong in each end. One of the thongs is provided with a loop to slip over the forefinger. 524 857

Suicide

Suicides, like the insane, are rare. The practice is referred to in myths and in funeral speeches, and is credited to the Walapai, yet there have been no instances for a generation. 762

Occasionally, a man or woman gets into many difficulties, whereupon everyone blames him, calls him bad. He thinks it is no use to remain alive longer, or he feels spiteful and wants to earn the name truly; then he may fall sick and die. Suicides are regarded as crazy.

Once I [Sinyella] saw a suicide, Tohawaga's elder brother, a lad of sixteen. I do not know what they were angry about, but they fought all the time. Tohawaga's father told him to behave: "I told you repeatedly, but you do not stop." Then he beat him. The brother took a pistol from his belt and shot himself through the throat. They threw his body over the cliff above Bridal Veil Falls [this is the mode of killing horses after the death of their owner], for they would not give the usual burial to a suicide. I do not know where the soul of a suicide goes. [766]

When mourners grieve for their relatives, the chiefs console them, saying, in the course of their harangues, "You will not long be alive. Soon you will sicken and die and go the same way. Now you must be good. Do not kill yourself." 624 765

Comparative Notes

The details of construction and use of the sweatlodge would afford good evidence of historic connection were there sufficient comparative material. The Havasupai type, a small dome-shaped lodge, is probably in general use through the western plateaus and the Plains. Its equivalent among the Pueblos is the estufa (ceremonial chamber-dormitory) of Spanish days. There is some evidence that it was not in use along the lower Colorado. The Mohave did not have a regular lodge but used a closed dwelling in the manner of the Californian assembly house. Mr. E. W. Gifford informs me that neither the Yuma nor Cocopa used it, yet Trippel refers to the Yuma use in the girls' puberty rites. It was probably not used by the desert Shoshoneans of adjacent California. The Washo, according to Doctor R. H. Lowie, do not use it. There is no mention of it in Russell's account of the Pima; hence, it may be lacking there as well. Finally, the Shivwits believe that they recently acquired it from the Walapai. The well-known type of assembly or dance house takes its place in northern California. Powers places the dividing line at Sacramento City: south of there the small lodge is used.[1] 171 345

[1] Kroeber, (a), 277; Trippel, 880; Lowie, (i), 307 f; Powers, 360.

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171 526 *tso-e-ca*, Yuma *cha-tak-cak*, Navaho *ndaahdilhá'l*, and Hopi *ta-tats'-ta-ta-ctdh* (ball, *ta-tci*).[1]

The hoop and pole game is recorded in the Southwest for the Yuma, Mohave, Northern and Southern Diegueño, Gabrielino, Havasupai, Paiute, Navaho, Mescalero and Western Apache, Hopi, Zuñi, Laguna, and Isleta. The manner of playing it is almost identical among the Havasupai, Walapai,[2] Mohave, Southern Diegueño, and perhaps Yuma. Southern Diegueño, Mohave, and Havasupai poles have one or two rings encircling the butt; the White Mountain Apache have many, but the ring nearest the butt counts highest. Apparently all these groups use the simple hoop without netting, except the White Mountain Apache, Isleta, and Paiute. It has a central core wrapped with buckskin among Gabrielino, Walapai, Havasupai, Navaho, and Wind River Shoshoni, while that of the Hopi is cornhusk. The White Mountain Apache and Southern Diegueño cast the hoop in the same way as the Havasupai. These two have the two poles represent the sexes.[3]

Culin and others give little material on the cup and pin game in the Southwest. Pima, Zuñi, and the Tewa of Hano use a form with one or more rings: Havasupai and Paiute use a rabbit skull.[4] The Moapa reckoning is identical with that of the Havasupai, except for the incisor hole count.[5]

Basket dice is a widely distributed game, and the Havasupai have no special form of it. It is generally a woman's game in this area, but played by both sexes among Navaho, Zuñi, and Mohave, although the first consider it especially a man's game. The number of dice varies, but not randomly: Havasupai, Maricopa, and Pima, four; Mohave, four but only three are used in play; Zuñi, four or five; Paviotso and Washo, twelve. These are all long wooden or bone dice. White Mountain Apache use thirteen or fourteen small chips; Navaho, thirteen or seven. By way of comparison, the Yokuts (of Fort Tejon and Tule River) use eight nut shells, the Tejon, six. In another form of dice game in this area the Zuñi use small chips, three lozenges and two squares, thrown from a board; the Wind River Shoshoni, three lozenges and three disks, tossed in a basket. The Mohave and Pima games are included here although no basket is used to toss the dice. The absence of the basket

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[1] Culin, (b), 624, 634, 646-7; Trippel, 6; Curtis, XII, 49.
[2] The Walapai names for game, hoop, and pole, are the phonetic equivalents of the Havasupai (Culin, (b), 625).
[3] Culin, (b), 649-625; Trippel, 5; Reichenbach, 49; Franciscan Fathers, 482; Lowie, (i), 261; Spier, (c), 353; Reid, 18; Du Bois, (c), 167.
[4] The only other recorded uses of a skull are among Labrador and West Greenland Eskimo (Culin, (b), 646; Parsons, 227).
[5] Culin, (b), 648-649; Lowie, (i), 267.

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seems a local variation, for no basket is mentioned in connection with the Maricopa game. The White Mountain Apache and Wind River Shoshoni strike the basket on the ground. The latter sometimes throw the dice into the basket and the Yokuts always do. These resemblances may not be significant, but the answer lies in what the custom may be in the intervening areas. The scoring is variable, but there are identities. All four faces up count one for Havasupai, Mohave, Maricopa, and Pima. All faces down count one for the first pair, two for the second pair of tribes. Any other throw does not score for any of them. It is clear that they clearly recognize that all of a kind is necessarily the most infrequent throw.[1]

Stick dice is essentially a Southwestern and north Mexican game. Comparative notes are tabulated below. I have assumed that the essentials of this form of the dice game are (1) striking the sticks on something so that they fall on the rebound, and (2) noting the scores on markers arranged in a circle or square. A case is included here if either of these features appear.[2]

In addition to the groups below, Lummis notes its occurrence in the Pueblos of Sandia, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Tesuque, San Ildefonso, and doubtfully, San Juan. He did not see it at Jemez, Pojoaque, or Picuris. It may be played by Yuma and Mohave as a note by Ten Kate suggests. Mooney ascribes it to the Comanche and "Apache of the southern plains." Pawnee and Arapaho dice accompanied by a square of hide, which may have served as a surface on which to bounce them, suggest that this game may have been known to them also. Lumholtz says that it is played by all the tribes who live in or near the sierras of Chihuahua (and by the Mexicans), but is not known south of the State of Durango. The Opata and the Zuaque of Sinaloa may be added. It is unknown to the Cora and Tarasco.[3]

[1] Culin, (b), 91–224; Powers, 378; Lowie, (i), 288, 262.
[2] Culin, (b), 87–221; Franciscan Fathers, 481; Dorsey, G. A., (b), 167; Lowie, (i), 262; (a), 196; Russell, (d), 178; Curtis, XII, 42.
[3] Culin, (b), 91, 99, 127, 160, 181, 184, 192.

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	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Score: All back	1 front	2 front	3 front	All front	Circuits per game
Wind River Shoshoni	4	×					10		to		5	
Lemhi	4	×										semicircle
Parietano	6		sticks									
Paiute	8	ground										
Yokuts	8		?	25		?	16		to		1	
Gabrielino	8	ground										
Northern Diegueño	4		board: square with wings	40 holes								
Pima	4	ground or struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	horse or slave	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	
Papago	4	struck up from hand	square with wings	40 holes	×	×	10	15, 14, 6, 4	2	3	5	1
Walapai	2	×	×	30			10	1	2		5	semicircle
Havasupai	2	×	×	indefinite		×	10	1, 2	2		5	1
Ovalbi	3 or 2	floor	inscribed stone with wing	–	animal		2				1	.
Hopi	2	×	×	4×10		×	10	1	2		5	1
Hano	2		×	4×10			10	2	2		5	.
White Mountain Apache	2	×	×	4×10		×	10	1, 2	2		5	1 or 2
Zuñi	2	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	2		5	1 or 4
							10	2	2		5	

	Number of dice	Struck on center stone, or	Circle of stones, or	Number of stones	Marker called "horse" or	Opponent's marker "killed"	Scores: All back	1 front	2 front	4 front	All front	Circuits per game
Navaho	3	×	Circle or square	4×10			10	2	3		5	
							10	0	0		5	
Acoma	3		×	3×10	×		10	2	2		5	
Laguna	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	2, 15		5	1 or more
Isleta	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	2	3		5	
								2, 10	3, 15		5	
Sia	4		square	4×10			10	3	2	..	5	
Cochiti	3	×	×	40			10	2	2, 15		5	
Santa Clara	4 or 3	×	square	40	×	×	10	3	..		5	1
							10	1	3, 15		5	
Nambé	3	×	×	4×10	×	×	10	1	3, 15		5	1
Taos	3	×	×	16×10	×	×	10	1	1, 15		5	semicircle 100 points
Comanche	12	×										
Kiowa	4	×	marked blanket	4 ×10		×	10	1	2	3	6	3 or more 87
Caddo	4	board stones										
Tarahumare	4		square with wings	4×10 holes		×			quince			
Tepehuane	4		square with wings	4×10 holes					quince			

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The unity of this game complex is quite obvious. Ordinarily, three dice are used; the cases where there are more are by no means randomly distributed. Four are used by the Northern Diegueño, and all the Piman groups. This occurs again at Sia, Santa Clara, and among Kiowa and Caddo.[1] It is quite likely that all these form one group, since the game is called by its Spanish name (quince, fifteen) both in Mexico and in these Pueblos. We might be more certain of this if we knew the scoring in Mexico. It is, of course, possible that at least this special form was carried by Mexicans from one region to the other. The Wind River use of four dice is not clearly connected with these.

The use of eight dice by Paiute, Gabrielino, and Yokuts is an interesting case of coalescence of two games, for in this region the basket dice usually number eight.

Note also that the Paiute, Gabrielino, the Hopi of Oraibi, and Pima strike the dice on the ground. Pima and Papago share the custom of striking them upward from the hand with a flat stone, rather than the usual one of bouncing them on the stone.

The circle of stones, etc., which serves as a counting board is very general; even the diagram marked on a blanket by the Kiowa is of this pattern. The exceptional form is a square, from corners of which there are sometimes pendent lines or wings of stones from which the markers start. These are two or four in number and curved in shape. This establishes again a definite relationship between Northern Diegueño, Pima, Papago, Tarahumare, and Tepehuane. The inscribed stone used by some Hopi has a wing extending into the figure which also serves as the starting point. The use of the square at Sia and Santa Clara is further evidence of their connection with the Mexican tribes. The square is also used by some Navaho.

The number of points in the circle is quite uniformly forty, divided into quadrants of ten. At Taos the process has been carried one step further, each of these quadrants being again divided in four. The only aberrant cases are the Havasupai, Walapai, and Yokuts, and in the last case it is not certain that we are dealing with the same game.

The markers are commonly called horses. At Zuñi these are little figurines of horses. It is equally common to find that the marker is sent back to the starting point ("killed") if another enters the space it occupies.

The definite identity of the complex is clearly established by the scoring system. Almost universally, a score all of one kind counts ten,

[1] No description of the Caddo game is given, but they have a board used in connection with four dice and eight counters, which suggests an equivalent to the Kiowa game.

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its opposite five. The intermediate scores usually have the same progression up to five. In some of the systems a mark on one of the dice brings in another variable, so that two fronts (in a total of three sticks) counts three (or two or one) and the same throw with one of these fronts a marked piece, fifteen. This is the scoring at Laguna, Cochiti, Santa Clara, and Taos. This is probably also the case at Isleta and Nambé but the descriptions are not clear. All four sticks are separately marked by the Pima and Papago, so that a throw of any one of these marked sides counts variously fifteen, fourteen, six, and four. The entire scoring system is arbitrary and not at all dependent on the probability of occurrence of any score; hence, the use of fifteen as the highest score constitutes a further proof of historic connection among those tribes already coupled by the use of the square and four sticks. 171 524

Culin has grouped together the moccasin game and the hidden ball game as variants of a single form.[1] To be sure, the fundamental concept is the same; an object is hidden in one of four moccasins, mounds, or tubes. Yet, the areas of distribution are so distinct as to render historical connection improbable. The moccasin game is found among the Cheyenne,[2] Dakota, Southern Siouans, Assiniboin,[3] Central Algonkins, and Iroquois; the mound and tube forms are distinctly Southwestern. The basic ideas are quite simple: the notion of seeking a hidden object may arise anywhere, and that it be in one of four places seems only an application of the common pattern number four. Thus so far as these games are alike it seems a case of convergence.[4] The difficulty in accepting this view is the partial similarity in the scoring. 114 171 524

There are two forms of the hidden ball game in the Southwest. The Havasupai type in which the ball is hidden in one of four mounds is known to the Walapai, Mohave,[5] Maricopa, Navaho, and by mythical reference to the Sia. The Havasupai and Walapai games are identical; the mounds are constructed in two furrows, the ball is made of yucca root, and the counters are drawn one at a time until all sixteen are obtained. In the Navaho game a moccasin is buried in each mound in the furrow and in this a stone ball is hidden. This suggests a connection with the moccasin game to the north, in that the two games have here coalesced. But it is difficult to see how the connection can have taken place. 171 524

[1] Culin, (b), 233–262.
[2] Grinnell, (b), I, 228.
[3] Lowie, (b), 18.
[4] The Nootka and Kwakiutl hiding game in which four men are given four guesses shows how the same pattern has resulted in a different form (Culin, (b), 270).
[5] Kroeber, (b), 270.

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171 524 The other form is known locally as cañute (Spanish caña, reed) which takes its name from the four tubes or segments of reed in which the object is hidden. This is played by the Ute,[1] Jicarilla, at Taos, San Juan, San Ildefonso,[2] Santa Clara, Jemez, Isleta, Sia, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, Hano, by the Hopi, Pima, Maricopa, Papago, and the Zuaque of Rio Fuerte, Sinaloa. These two forms of the game seem to be related, at least in that the tubes are stuck in a mound at San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Zuñi, Zuaque, and sometimes Taos; and they are filled with sand by the Tewa of Hano, Pima, and Papago.

The scoring in the cañute game is curious and arbitrary. In general, the object is to find the ball in the third tube chosen, when the privilege of hiding passes to the victor, but he gains no counters. If it is located on the first trial the guesser loses ten points, on the second, six, and if it remains in the fourth tube, four. That is, points are gained only as the opponent loses. This is the scoring of San Ildefonso, Laguna, Hano, probably Taos, Santa Clara, Navaho, and at least sometimes at Zuñi. The Papago and Pima have an analogous count: losing ten, six, or four to the opponent, depending on which tube the ball is hidden in. The description suggests that the choice really corresponds to leaving the ball in the fourth tube.

The method of determining which side shall first hide the pellet shows some historical connections. Among the Papagó both hide a pellet and guess as many times as is necessary before one alone makes a correct guess. The Pima method seems to be similar. At San Ildefonso one of them must find the ball hidden in one of two tubes at his first trial. This seems also to be the case at Nambé. This couples the Piman and Tewan groups. On the other hand, a different method is used in the center of the area: Hopi, Navaho, Zuñi, and Acoma toss a leaf, chip, or disk to decide.

The total number of points needed to win is generally of the same order: Navaho, 102, Zuñi, 100+2, Hano and Jicarilla 104, Laguna, 100+4, Pima, 100 (or its multiple), Papago, 50 or 100 or more, Oraibi, 50, San Ildefonso, 50 to 200. The total is variable at Santa Clara, ten by a different count at Walpi, and among the Hopi at large eight consecutive correct guesses.

171 192 524 It is noteworthy that the name of the game is very variable. The exceptions show obvious connections: Havasupai and Walapai, Papago and Pima. On the other hand, there are similarities in the names given

[1] Lowie, (i), 238.
[2] Harrington, (b).

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the tubes and in their markings which connect the Gila tribes with the Tewa and their neighbors. The following table gives the names in translation, the native terms being retained only where no translation is given or where they will show connections. The names are not always explicitly attached to Culin's illustrations, so I have taken the liberty of assuming the appropriate connection. This applies to the material from Santa Clara, Taos, and Papago.

	One End Marked	*Two Ends Marked*	*All Over, or Ends and Middle*	*Middle Marked*	*Unmarked*
Nambé	one	two	mulato[1]	chinchado[1] (girded)	
Santa Clara	one	two	sĕn-dŏ' (old)	girthed	
Taos	one	two	mulata (tawney)	girthed	
San Ildefonso	one	two	mulhaʦ̨ade (old mule)	tiʼiŋ (el hinchado, swollen)	
Jemez	at the top	at two places	speckled	in the middle	
Isleta	one	two	spotted		
Sia	×	×	×	×	
Hopi	×	×	×	×	
Hano	posopeni	poyopeni	wihipeni	kopeni	
Pima	ma-atcovolt		old man	middle black	old woman
Papago	iná-ok ju ool		old man	made black	old woman
Maricopa	hiyaquimyorsh		old man	tok-gum-yorsh	old woman

Harrington suggests that the San Ildefonso names translated "old mule" and "swollen" are their folk-etymologies for their equivalents of the common Spanish names mulato and chinchado.[2] I would suggest further a possible connection of the Santa Clara "old" (or old man?) and this "old mule" with the Pima-Papago-Maricopa "old man."

Among some of the groups the hider arranges the tubes in a definite pattern. At San Ildefonso there are a whole host of such arrangements, each with its appropriate name, but at Jemez, Isleta, and Taos, there are none. At Acoma it is said they are laid on their ends or sides, or in fantastic ways. The Papago and Pima guesser crosses one pair of tubes and picks up one of the others. The Zuñi arrange them in a square or a

[1] I have transposed these names because the names as given in Culin's account (368) obviously do not agree with the markings. These will then agree with the Santa Clara and Taos names which Harrington [(b), 351] has identified with the San Ildefonso analogs.

[2] Harrington, (b), 349-351.

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triangle with the fourth reed beside it, the Hopi in a square or row. (The Havasupai, Walapai, and Navaho arrange the sand piles in a row). The latter cases suggest cultural connection, but this need not be true for the Piman and Tewan groups.

The discontinuous distribution of the moccasin game and the hidden ball game seems established despite the Navaho case. I do not find either game recorded for the Arapaho, Kiowa, Wichita, or others in the intervening area. There is, however, some similarity in the scoring. The Ojibwa player loses points unless he finds the object on the third trial, the Winnebago and possibly the Ottawa and Cree on the fourth, and the Santee in the second of three moccasins. On the winning trial the guesser gains points; a feature wholly absent in the Southwest. The value of points lost or gained in the successive trials bears no relation to the chances involved. In the Cheyenne game the guesser loses a point unless he succeeds on the first trial. Among the other tribes for whom we have data—Menomini, Omaha, Seneca, and Wyandot—the notion is rather of winning points by successive guesses. The scoring is quite variable throughout this area, but the principle of avoiding the object on the earlier trials is found only in one compact area, including at least Santee, Ojibwa, and Winnebago.

The question is whether this similarity is due to borrowing or convergence. I think it can be shown that the latter is involved. In making a choice of this kind, the guesser can either wager that he will find the object or that he will not. It does not matter how many trials are permitted, these are the only alternatives and they apply with equal force to each trial. Of these possibilities one must be decided on. Whether to lose points for a failure to find the ball or for finding it, or to win points for the same, or merely to win the right to hide the object, must also be decided, but this is in no way dependent on the decision to find or to avoid.

The Southwestern tribes have in general decided to avoid the object on all save one trial; so have the Ojibwa, Santee, and Winnebago. The Havasupai, Walapai, Cheyenne, and the other eastern groups have chosen the other alternative, to find the object. So much of the similarity is clearly accidental.

If the decision is to avoid the object it must be found on some other than the first trial. There are three possibilities. The Southwestern tribes, east of the Havasupai, have uniformly prescribed the third trial. On the other hand, the Eastern Woodland tribes have variously hit on the second, third, or fourth. The only real similarity then is in the case of the Ojibwa; this then may be set down to accident.

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Furthermore, there is no similarity between the values in the scoring systems of the Southwest and the eastern area. All include arbitrary values not dependent on chance. This is clearly the case in the east, where the Winnebago, for example, have the same number of points (four) lost or won in each trial, although the chances necessarily change. In the Southwest the order of the losses (10, 6, 0, 4) is dependent on chance, but not the actual values. If we consider the position of the guesser, who endeavors to avoid the ball until the third trial, we see he has three chances to one in his favor on the first trial, two to one on the second, an even chance on the third, and certainty of failure on the last. Taking 10 as the highest penalty, this should apply, as it does, on the first trial: the others should be in order, 7.5, 5, and 2.5. There are two arbitrary elements here; the actual values and the choice of the third trial for success rather than the fourth.

crawl, lacking the strength to stand erect and walk. When killed, a snake loses its spirit. Where else can it go but into the child? However, this baby's legs showed no signs of weakness. 856 825

Childhood days would be pleasant for this little girl. There was no "nap time" nor "meal time" for Havasupai children. They played until they tumbled over asleep, awakened when they felt like it. If they were not around when the pot of stew was taken from the fire, they filled their stomachs when they came home. 855

Children and grownups played together, and the stream was their playground. The little folks darted through the water as guiltless of clothing and as agile as small brown fish. The women frolicked, laughing and screaming, somewhat hindered by their long underslips, but missing none of the fun, while the men, enjoying more freedom in this sport as in other activities, wore only loincloths. They loved nothing better than to take a burro into a deep pool, piling children on his back until they submerged him to his nose. They would tip him over backward, holding him under much too long for his comfort, shouting with laughter when he came up sucking air into his lungs noisily and painfully. Yet the burro seemed to enjoy these bouts, entering the water willingly if not eagerly. 857 524

The intelligence used by the parents in training their children would set a worthy example for any race. A mother did not scold. Instead she taught her small daughter to play grownup, to weave baskets, sweep the floor, carry water and make fiber brooms. This training prepared the child to care for a home of her own. But, wisely, this training went beyond material things, for the little girl was also taught to be kind to her husband's people. This early training was responsible, I think, for the harmony with which those related by marriage worked and played together. 861

Young boys must rise while it was "little light" and run swiftly toward the rising sun. This prepared them for the hunt and made them swift in capturing the enemy. They were indoctrinated in the ritual of the hunt which involved many superstitions and taboos. To ensure success, prayers must be offered at smokes or hunting 889 224

4: Smithson E-5 (1951-1958) 1959 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Fig. 12. Infancy and childhood. A. Twins, Ned and Ted Grounds, eight months old (Ned died two months after this picture was taken). B, Tommy Siyuja, age two years. C. Rena Paya, age six, with doll in toy cradleboard made for small girls.

pick him up. By the time a baby is able to crawl to his mother, he will tug at her clothing when he wants to be fed. The accustomed expression of a contented baby as he plays alone, or is carried in a group of older children, is solemn, but the infant learns early to smile or laugh in response to other individuals. A baby or a young child, alone or in a group, plays quietly, seemingly reflecting the calm that prevails in the usual camp situation. The strident clamor of voice and the excited, helter-skelter pace of activity characteristic in the group play of white American children is conspicuously absent even among older Havasupai children. 854 854 857 152

Formerly, a mother took her baby along when she picked peaches or did other work not far from home. A conical burden basket was anchored to her back by a tumpline across her forehead or shoulders. With the baby on his cradle, she placed it in the burden basket facing away from her. The mother held the cradle upright with one hand extended over her shoulder. On the return trip, with the loaded burden basket on her back, she carried the baby's cradle in her arms. If the mother went away for a full day to gather wild foods, she usually left the baby at home with his father, grandmother, or older siblings. He was fed peach juice during her absence. The baby was never left alone. 854 [482]

At night an infant sleeps on his cradle near the mother, in his parents' bed, or on a separate bed within reach of the mother's hand. The earlier custom was to keep the baby in the cradleboard day and night, but babies are now removed from the cradle at frequent intervals. An infant may share his parents' bed until he is about a year old.

One mother summed up the use of the cradleboard thus:

"I put my baby in the cradle so he won't be spoiled by being held all the time. The cradle makes his body grow straight, and a cradleboard is easy to handle without tiring the mother or the baby. The baby can be taken anywhere without waking him, and he likes the cradle because it feels like someone is holding him. After my oldest boy could walk, he would bring his cradle to me and want to be in it. He was too tall then, but I would tie it on his back, and we all laughed while he walked around because he looked so funny. We said he looked like a beetle that way, but he didn't care. He just wanted the cradle." [856]

When a baby sucks his hands, they are laced inside the cradle, or moved away from his mouth, but nothing distasteful is put on them. It is said that hand-sucking is discouraged because the baby might carry some object to his mouth and choke to death. If an infant seems inclined toward lefthandedness, his left hand is tied inside the cradle while his right hand remains free. "The people in the old times didn't want their children to be left-handed, but some of them turned out like that anyway." Improvised toys such as dewclaw rattles (Spier 1928, 303), wooden beads, or a small spoon made from a mountain sheep's horn formerly were tied to the cradle 854 856 [826] 524 177

524 177 hood for both boys and girls. These have been superseded by commercially manufactured toys.

853 The breast (or a bottle) is almost invariably offered when a young baby cries. When the infant is four or five months old, he is fed fresh peaches, mashed by the mother's fingers on the metate, or soup from stewed, dried peaches. He also receives some premasticated morsels of corn or other items from the family meals, transferred by the mother's fingers from her mouth. At about one year the baby eats thin cornmeal mush, and the softer foods are no longer specially prepared for him, but meat and other coarse foods are ground on the metate, or premasticated until the baby has enough [462] teeth to chew adequately. An informant stated, "The mother does most of the feeding, but if she is busy, the father will do it. A man likes to do things for his baby."

Sitting and Crawling

854 868 At three or four months of age an infant is removed from the cradle and encouraged to sit alone. He is also permitted freedom to crawl on the ground. No babies were observed scampering rapidly over the ground in the way an experienced crawler will do on a smooth floor. An infant crawling out-of-doors appears to move cautiously, stopping frequently to sit up and handle clods, rocks, and sticks, or to investigate any obstacle he encounters. Parents usually let a baby explore unhindered. However, when an object is taken from a baby, it is not grabbed hastily nor is the baby handled roughly when he is removed from a place where the adults think he should not be. Parental behavior tends to be calm and gentle. If a protest is forthcoming from an infant whose play has been interrupted, it is seldom more than a puckered face or a brief wail. The mother may distract the baby with a toy, or she may simply turn her attention elsewhere after quietly telling the baby to be still. The baby may attempt to recapture his mother's attention, but he quickly loses interest and resumes his playing.

231 Dogs, which are attached to every household, may approach a cradled child to sniff or lick his hands or face. An infant seldom shows fear of a dog, but if he does, the dog is quickly and loudly driven away. This constitutes the most frequent occurrence of harshness in connection with the baby, for a dog is often addressed sharply and may be kicked or beaten if it doesn't respond immediately. Nevertheless, dogs are nearly always within the baby's range of vision, and by the time he reaches the crawling stage, a baby begins to play with any dog that stays within reach of his hand. The dog's ears and tail may be pulled or twisted, or its eyes poked by small fingers; later, as the child grows more active, a dog is sat upon, tumbled about, and pinched; and still later on, it is lassoed, tied, and dragged about.

757 [753] [262] It is believed that blisters on the tongue or inside the mouth of a nursing infant are a result of the mother's breaking the salt taboo. The blisters are treated

861 of the respective sex roles begins when a child is four or five. "We tell a boy not to play with dolls; it's for girls. We tell little girls not to play with a rope (a lasso). Hers is a doll."

Economic Training

857 A girl of three or four may have a small share in the family's work,
866 but her main duties revolve about her younger siblings or younger children of her older siblings if they are part of the family residence group. She is told to play with or to watch these younger children. A girl of six or seven can change a baby, and will take much responsibility for his care, but cannot be trusted alone with him. When a baby is seven or eight months old, he may be turned over almost entirely for daytime watching to a sister or a young aunt of eight or nine, thus freeing the mother for work. Younger children are taken along by the older siblings, especially sisters, when they leave the camp to play. The presence of and responsibility for younger children apparently is not resented by a girl who includes them in her play. A little girl may go along to watch the baby while her mother gathers seeds or works in the fields.

857 Both girls and boys help with gardening, gathering wild foods, and
868 carrying wood and water, but a girl is more often in the company of her mother at these tasks than is a boy. At seven or eight years of age, a girl spends a little time each day helping her mother, while a boy has fewer demands on his time. In former times, even when a boy learned to hunt with his father, he had more leisure time than did a girl. At eight or nine years of age, a girl learned to grind corn. As one informant said:

"When I was nine my mother told me to grind corn like her. The first time I tried, it was too coarse. After a week or so of practice I could do better, but still it wasn't fine. My mother ground it over again and used it to make mush. I would have learned to grind it fine enough that year, but I went away to school. I didn't learn until I came home and got married. It is the same with my daughters. They won't learn until later."

Play

857 Children are left largely to their own devices in seeking entertainment.
●524 Games are learned from older children rather than from adults, but in
533 former times the old people sang songs to little children to make them sleep or to amuse them. The children, in their play, sang these songs and others which they heard at the annual round dance, or at the sweat lodge. The children seldom knew how to sing the songs perfectly.

Much of a girl's play is a conscious imitation of her mother's work. She loves to play "grinding stone" with bits of sandstone which she pretends are corn. After grinding the "corn" in the proper manner, she pretends to build a fire. (She is discouraged from using coals from the cooking fire.) She pretends to cook in clay dishes which she has made or in metal pans discarded by her mother. 857 524

Girls like to adorn themselves in much the way that children in the culture of the whites like to dress in their mother's old clothes. A small Havasupai girl formerly used fragments of buckskin, woven Hopi belts, blankets borrowed from her mother, and flour sacks or other cotton materials in which to array herself for playing house, or simply for the fun of dressing up. Groups of girls used to enjoy peeling willows for their mothers' basket weaving. Each girl would make a headband for herself from a willow or a strip of buckskin. Around the headband she tied the curly bark peelings, the bushy creation representing hair.

Girls gather gourds which grow wild a short distance from the farm area. Juggling gourds is a girls' sport, but boys occasionally do it. Juggling probably is not as popular now as it was in earlier times. Usually only three gourds are juggled at a time.

Girls and boys play house together, acting the part of mother and father according to sex. Younger siblings, or such dolls as they may have, represent their children.

Dolls of commercial manufacture now are obtained, but formerly several kinds were made by a girl's mother. Boys also played with dolls belonging to their sisters or feminine playmates. Clay dolls were dressed like men or women in buckskin garments. Dolls were also made from cedar bark or corn husks. A more permanent doll was fashioned by boiling a two-pronged deer antler to soften it so the points could be cut short for legs. A stick was bound at right angles to the axis for arms, and a head of clay was molded onto the base of the antler. A face was painted on the clay with a mixture of deer fat and red ocher or a scarlet dye from the soapweed root. A girl's mother or grandmother made a cradleboard for her doll. The cradle was a replica of a baby's cradle and was its equal in quality of workmanship. Doll cradles are still made for the small Havasupai girls of today. These cradles are about 40 cm. to 45 cm. in length and 15 to 18 cm. in width. [177] [237] [386]

A girl, like a boy, learns to ride bareback on a horse. A girl of four or five may be capable of handling a gentle horse alone. A boy, traditionally, is taught to ride when he is about three years old. One father was observed leading a horse on which his 18-month-old son was mounted. Another father reported that his son, aged three, already could handle a gentle horse. A few girls own saddle horses, or have the use of one occasionally, but a girl customarily does not ride about the canyon, whereas a boy older than 12 or 13 years seldom walks anywhere. Both young girls and older women ride astride. 857 868 [562] [492]

857 868 492 [555] older women ride astride. Their riding usually is restricted to trails leading out of Cataract Canyon, either to Topocoba Hilltop or to Hualapai Hilltop. However, there are a few women who ride horseback to fields located some distance from their homes. Two women were outstanding riders and ropers in their younger days, one of them reportedly having entered racing contests in competition with men at the Flagstaff, Arizona, Fourth of July rodeo.

Havasupai men are expert horsemen and are adept with a rope. A small boy plays with a lariat far more than with any other toy. A boy less than two years old may imitate the handling of a lariat with a piece of string. A boy of three or four can lasso and bulldog, using a dog as a stand-in for a cow. [524]

A few of the small girls like to play with a lariat and can handle one almost as well as do boys of the same age, although a girl is occasionally but not insistently admonished not to play like a boy.

857 868 [535] Small children of both sexes may be taken on their father's horse with him. Sometimes three or four children are carried at one time, one carried in front of the father with the others astride the horse's rump.

When the annual round dance is held, children as young as five or six are taken into the circle and are permitted to dance during the first few songs. In their play groups, children may try to imitate the round dance.

[526] Foot races are popular. At the annual Supai rodeo, children are separated into their appropriate age groups to race for prizes. One old man spoke of winning a footrace as a highlight of his childhood.

857 866 571 Adults say that their childhood play groups had leaders, but on the other hand when questioned about characteristics of children who were disliked, the primary reason given was uncompromising aggressiveness manifested in a determination to act as leaders. Older children charged with tending younger ones may turn this responsibility into a game of playing house so that removing a child from the mud, or picking him up when he falls is at the same time a discharge of duty and play-acting. Children acting as parents, either two girls or a boy and a girl, go about their activities in imitation of adult work, each one acting independently of the other, or acting cooperatively if they are pretending a group activity such as eating. It is suggested that leadership rests with certain members of age groups, rather than of play groups, for membership in the latter is not static. It appears that leadership is conceded to certain individuals because of personal popularity. Such leadership activities as may be assumed by a recognized leader are more likely to be carried out by suggestive, rather than by authoritative, means. This would conform with adult group behavior patterns.